

INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

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FROM: LONDON

✓ December 13, 1961

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TO: Secretary of State

3:04 a.m.

NO: 2295, DECEMBER 12, 10:00 P.M.

RMR

PRIORITY

DECLASSIFIED

E.O. 11652, SEC. 3(E), 5(D), 5(E) AND 11

STAT. (WLR-79-831)

BY PMR NARS, DATE 12/26/78

DEPTEL 3184.

WILL ANSWER FIRST PARAGRAPH LATER. RE 2ND PARAGRAPH,  
YOU HAVE GIVEN ME A DIFFICULT TASK IN ASKING (1) MACMILLAN'S  
PERSONAL VIEWS ABOUT TOPICS MENTIONED. (2) EVALUATING  
HIS POLITICAL FUTURE. LET ME TAKE UP LATTER TOPIC FIRST.

A. I AM NEITHER AN INTIMATE NOR A FRIEND OF THE PM.  
FEW APPARENTLY ARE. HIS PLAY, TO USE A GAMBLING EXPRESSION,  
IS CLOSE; AND HIS INMOST THOUGHTS ARE SELDOM OPEN TO  
PENETRATION. HE IS A POLITICAL ANIMAL, SHREWD, SUBTLE  
IN MANEUVER, UNDISPUTED MASTER IN HIS CABINET HOUSE.  
I HAVE NEVER HEARD OF HIS BEING ADDRESSED WITH LEVITY  
ON SERIOUS GOVERNMENTAL MATTERS BY SUBORDINATES OR  
ACQUAINTANCES, OTHER THAN PARTISAN OPPONENTS. IF SO,  
THOSE HEAVILY LIDDED EYELIDS WOULD LIFT, AND A CONTEMPTUOUS  
GLANCE WOULD STARE THEM DOWN.

HIS OPPONENT THINK HIM A COLD-BLOODED BUT FFORMIDABLE  
INDIVIDUAL. SOME LIKEN HIM TO DISRAELI, THOUGH HE  
LACKS THE FLAMBOYANCE OF A MAN WHO WOULD CHANGE  
FROM A MORNING TO AN AFTERNOON WALKING STICK AS THE NOON  
BELL TOLLED AT GIBRALTAR. NOR DOES HE HAVE DISRAELI'S  
FONDNESS FOR EXOTIC DRESS; RATHER HIS CLOTHES ARE  
SOMETIMES COMPARED WITH THOSE OF ENGLISH DUKES WHO HAVE  
BEEN ACCUSED OF DRESSING IN THE CAST-OFF GARMENTS OF

IRISH BEGGARS  
REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS  
PROHIBITED UNLESS "DECLASSIFIED"

~~SECRET~~

-2- 2295, DECEMBER 12, 10:00 P.M. FROM LONDON.

IRISH BEGGARS, THOUGH THIS DOES MACMILLAN A SARTORIAL INJUSTICE.

AT TIMES, HE GIVES THE IMPRESSION OF BEING SHOT THROUGH WITH VICTORIAN LANGUOR. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO INFER FROM THIS THAT HE IS LACKING IN FORCE OR DECISIVENESS, AS IT WOULD BE TO DEDUCE FROM WHAT IS CALLED HIS "BALLIOL SHUFFLE" THAT HE IS NOT CAPABLE OF SWIFT ACTION. IN FACT, HE CAN FEATLY SPRING ONTO HIS TOES LIKE A BALLET DANCER, AND IS QUICK GUN IN THE SHOOTING FIELD.

WHETHER HIS EMPHASIS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF A CLOSE AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP IS ASSOCIATED WITH HAVING HAD AN AMERICAN MOTHER MATTERS LITTLE. LIKE CHURCHILL, HE HAS MADE THE MAINTENANCE OF CLOSE TIES WITH THE US A CARDINAL POINT OF POLICY, THOUGH OCCASIONALLY HE HAS DEPARTED ON AN INDEPENDENT COURSE, AS WHEN HE MADE A LONE WOLF JOURNEY TO MOSCOW, AND RETURNED WITH AN EMPTY SACK.

BUT THIS IS NO MEAN MAN. HE REPRESENTS EDWARDIAN AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ENGLAND IN THE GRAND TRADITION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT, AND ALSO HAS AN EXTENSIVE APPRECIATION OF CONTEMPORARY PUBLIC OPINION. HE HAS CHARM, POLITENESS, DRY HUMOR, SELF-ASSURANCE, A VIVID SENSE OF HISTORY, DIGNITY, AND CHARACTER. TO WHAT EXTENT HE WOULD BEND CONVICTION TO COMPORT WITH EXPEDIENCY ONE CANNOT SAY. HE HAS HAD LONG EXPERIENCE IN JUDGING MEN AND EVENTS. UNABLE TO SUCCEED AS MIDDLE MAN BETWEEN THE US AND USSR, NO LONGER ON A BASIS OF OLD FRIENDSHIP WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, REALIZING THAT A REVIVAL OF THE CLASSICAL BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE WITH GREAT BRITAIN WEIGHING THE SCALES IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE, MY GUESS IS THAT HE WILL GO FAR TO SUIT OTHERWISE DISCORDANT NOTES TO THE US PRESIDENT'S HARMONY.

AS TO HIS POLITICAL FUTURE, MUCH WILL DEPEND ON THURSDAY'S DEBATE HERE ON THE CONGO. THE LABOUR PARTY IS IN HOT AND OPTIMISTIC PURSUIT OF THE TORIES, MANY OF WHOM WILL SKIRT

~~SECRET~~

-3- 2295, DECEMBER 12, 10:00 P.M. FROM LONDON.

WILL SKIRT AND BABBLE WITHOUT JOINING THE PACK. THIS CONTROVERSY, I WAS INFORMED TODAY BY HAROLD WILSON FOREIGN MINISTER IN THE SHADOW CABINET, IS THE MOST DRAMATIC PARLIAMENTARY ISSUE SINCE SUEZ. FEW EXPECT RESULTANT SCARS TO HEAL QUICKLY, THOUGH THE PRIME MINISTER HAS GREAT RESILIENCY, AND WILL REMAIN IN COMMAND OF THE TORIES UNLESS, AS IS UNLIKELY, HE IS OVERTHROWN ON A VOTE OF CENSURE OR NO CONFIDENCE. UNDOUBTEDLY, THE PASSIONS AROUSED IN THE UK BY THE UN POLICY IN THE CONGO WILL IMPAIR TORY DISCIPLINE, REGARDLESS OF THE MERITS OR THE OUTCOME WILL PROBABLY AFFECT THE PARTY'S FUTURE ADVERSELY. THIS IS AN INSTANCE WHERE, IN TERMS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS, IT IS PREFERABLE TO CRITICIZE THAN TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR DECISIONS.

B. RE PM'S PERSONAL VIEWS ON REFTEL ITEMS, I WILL HAVE TO ENGAGE IN WILD SURMISE.

1. BERLIN COMPLEX. HE THINKS A NEGOTIATION IS NECESSARY, IN ORDER TO CONDITION HIS COUNTRYMEN TO ACCEPT STERNER MEASURES IF IT FAILS. HE MAY BELIEVE THAT THE WEST WILL COME SO CLOSE TO DE FACTO RECOGNITION OF EAST GERMANY THAT THE SOVIETS WILL COMPENSATE US FOR IT BY A PAPER AND PLAUSIBLE AGREEMENT OVER ACCESS.

2. (A) EUROPEAN INTEGRATION AND (B) SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF US-UK RELATIONS.

(A) I BELIEVE HE SINCERELY DESIRES UK ENTRY INTO COMMON MARKET WITH CONCOMITANT ASSUMPTION OF POLITICAL OBLIGATIONS. BRITISH ECONOMY IS LAGGARD, AND SHOULD BE IMPROVED BY MEMBERSHIP. ALSO, HE MUST BE CONSCIOUS OF POSSIBILITY THAT AFTER ADENAUER AND DE GAULLE PASS OFF SCENE, UK MIGHT WELL BE POLITICAL SPOKESMAN FOR BLOC POTENTIALLY AS POWERFUL AS US OR USSR.

(B) BELIEVE HE WILL MAKE ALL REASONABLE CONCESSIONS TO MAINTAIN AT

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4-2295, DECEMBER 12, 10:00 P.M. FROM LONDON.

MAINTAIN AT LEAST PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF US-UK CONCORD ON MUTUAL PROBLEMS, AND SINCERELY HOLDS TO CLOSE US-UK SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP.

3. NUCLEAR TESTING. PM WISHES TO CONTINUE TEST CONFERENCE. WILL ARGUE AT BERMUDA THAT RESUMPTION BY US OF TESTS, UNLESS THEY ARE ESSENTIAL, WILL IN WORLD OPINION EQUATE US WITH THE USSR. IF SOVIET TESTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED IMPORTANT PROGRESS THIS WOULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE; IT WOULD BE EASIER FOR THE UK IF IT WERE PLAIN THAT SOVIET TESTS HAD ADVANCED DEVELOPMENT OF ANTI-MISSILE MISSILES.

SAME APPLIES TO CHRISTMAS ISLAND. AT BERMUDA PM WILL HAVE TO BE CONVINCED THAT PROPOSED TESTS FIT THE CRITERIA EXPLAINED BY HIM IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE.

BRUCE

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